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ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY



MR. L. EDWIN DUDLEY,

SECRETARY OF THE CITIZENS' LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,

AT HAMILTON, ONTARIO, AUGUST 10th, 1886.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—It is indeed an honor you have done me in inviting me to stand before you today. It gives me great pleasure to meet the people of this Province because I came very near being born a Canadian myself. My father's farm was bounded on the north by the line which separates Canada from Vermont, and the house in which I was born stood only forty rods from that line. The first school I attended stood upon Province Hill on your side of the border. One of my early recollections is of the band of choppers who passed by, slashing the trees in the forest twenty feet on either side of the line, making it less imaginary than it was before. I remember how these men guided by the surveyors with their compasses kept straight on, over mountains and through the valleys, straight to their purpose, regardless of obstacles; and we who are here assembled today may look to their example and follow the line which leads to sobriety, peace, order, better government and higher and happier national and international life—regardless of the difficulties and obstacles in our pathway, though piled mountain high.

By your invitation I am here today to speak especially about the duties which devolve upon citizens with reference to the enforcement of the laws placing restrictions upon the liquor traffic. For more than four years, I have been the executive officer of an association having for its sole purpose the securing of a better enforcement of such laws, and during this time, I have come into personal contact with the liquor traffic, and the men engaged in it, in a way that is not usual among temperance workers. It may be competent for me to testify in regard to this exceptional and hazardous business as I have had it shown to me, dealing with the men engaged in the business, before excise boards, in our courts and elsewhere. I have found the influence of the liquor traffic opposed to good morals, good order and good government. I have found it debasing the men and women who sell, unfitting them for good citizenship, too often making them the basest of criminals and destroying the bodies and souls of those who patronize them. I have found the saloon the seat of most of the lawlessness which afflicts the community and endangers the State. I have found it the one prolific cause of most of the misery, pauperism and crime which burden our people. I have found the saloon in every neighborhood the festering sore upon the body politic, drawing around itself the robbers, thieves and murderers. I have found the saloon the recruiting office for bad politics, the headquarters of unscrupulous politicians, the organizing center of all movements to demoralize the people and to weaken and destroy the government. What the church upholds, the saloon pulls down. The teaching of the Sunday school is unlearned in the saloon; the teachings of our institutions of learning are controverted by ignorant men who stand behind the bars, and

through the demoralizing habits taught by these men to our sons, and too often to our daughters, the influence of the school and the college is neutralized. It is not my purpose to dwell at length upon the evils of intemperance; you have seen them—they are already too well known to everybody everywhere; there is hardly a family in the land that has not been made to feel most keenly the terrible ravages of this evil through one or another of its members, but I cannot pass from this branch of my topic without reading to you the following extract from the remarks made by one of our judges in passing the death sentence upon a man who had committed the crime of murder.

"Nor shall the place be forgotten in which occurred the shedding of blood. It was one of those antechambers of hell which mark, like plague-spots, the fair face of our State. You need not be told that I mean a tippling shop, the meeting-place of Satan's minions, and the foul cesspool which, by spontaneous generation, breeds and nurtures all that is loathsome and disgusting in profanity, and babbling, and vulgarity, and Sabbath-breaking. I would not be the owner of a groggery for the price of this globe converted into ore. For the pitiful sum of a dime he furnished the poison which made the deceased a fool and this trembling culprit a demon! How paltry a sum for two human lives! This traffic is tolerated by law, and, therefore, the vendor has committed an act not recognized by earthly tribunals; but in the sight of Him who is unerring in wisdom, he who deliberately furnishes the intoxicating draught which inflames men into violence and anger and bloodshed, is *particeps criminis* in the deed. Is it not high time that all these sinks of vice and crime should be held rigidly accountable to the laws of the land, and placed under the ban of an enlightened and virtuous public opinion?"

Another one of our judges in passing sentence upon some men convicted before him for violations of the liquor law used these words:

"You still maintain the appearance of respectability, but how morally leprous and scrofulous you are inwardly! The ruin, poverty, and idleness which you are inflicting upon this community declare as from the house-tops. You are living in idleness, and eating the bread of orphans watered with widows' tears; you are stealthily killing your victims, and murdering the peace and industry of the community, and thereby converting happy, industrious homes into misery, poverty, and rags. Anxious wives and mothers watch and pray in tears nightly with desolate hearts for the coming home of your victims, whom you are luring with the wiles and smiles of the devil into midnight debauchery. In fine, one can have no adequate conception of a cataract until he has seen Niagara, nor of the terrible fury and grandeur of a storm in mid ocean until he has witnessed one; so no one can know the utter degradation and total depravity to which his species can be brought until he looks upon the desolate ruin caused by your hellish traffic. You are persistent, defiant law-breakers; and shamelessly boast that in defiance of the law and moral sense of the community, you will continue in your wicked and criminal practices."

Still another judge in passing sentence upon some liquor dealers for violations of the law spoke as follows:

"For more than twenty years I have had ample opportunities to observe the working and effect of the business of selling intoxicating liquors, and I have not been able to discover a single feature, circumstance, or result that can commend it to the favorable consideration of any decent, respectable, or thoughtful man; and in this conclusion I think that you and all others will agree with me. It cannot even challenge the admiration or approve of ordinary bad men. I cannot conceive of any business or occupation, more thoroughly demoralizing in its tendencies and effects, or more destructive to public morals, public order, and public decency, than the business of selling intoxicating liquors. I cannot perceive a solitary benefit or advantage to be derived from it by a single human being. I cannot imagine a blessing or benefit of any kind that it brings or contributes to the welfare of a community. It brings misery and social death to those who engage in it, as well as to those who patronize and sustain it."

In speaking upon the subject of the enforcement of the law, one of our wise men used these words: "The whole traffic is false from beginning to end, from center to circumference and back to the center; it is false in spirit and false in practice, it scoffs at truth

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and right, it knows no methods but false methods, no ways but devious ones, it does nothing without plotting, it cheats at the caucus and bullies at the ballot box." But these facts in relation to the liquor traffic are recognized, and understood and lamented by good people everywhere; you do not wish me to dwell upon this phase of the subject,—you are asking the question, what can be done about it, and I am before you today to contribute some account of my experience in efforts to accomplish something to restrain this dangerous, demoralizing traffic.

I am in this work because I had become interested in the poor children of the city in which I live,—the little fellows who appear upon our streets when they are six or seven years of age to make their living by selling newspapers and blacking boots. I found five years ago that notwithstanding the law upon the statute book of the state of Massachusetts, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to any person who is a minor for his own use, the use of his parent or that of any other person, as nearly as could be estimated, fifteen thousand children less than fifteen years of age were patronizing the saloons of the city of Boston. Often have I thought of those beautiful lines of Mary Howitt:

" Oh! My heart grows weak as a woman's
And the fountains of feeling will flow,
When I think of the paths steep and stony,
Where the feet of the children must go.
Of the mountains of sin hanging o'er them,
Of the tempest of fate growing wild,
Oh! there's nothing on earth half so holy
As the innocent heart of a child. "

From my interest in these children, I was brought to observe the fact that regardless of the law, nearly every saloon in Boston invited the patronage of children of the most tender years, and I have again and again seen children only five or six years of age, going into the saloons, mingling with crowds of drunken men and drunken women there, listening to the obscene language used there, purchasing liquor, to be sipped on the way, and carrying it into the wretched home, to make it still more wretched. I became enraged at a traffic that would thus destroy the very foundations of society, and that was demoralizing, debasing and ruining the boys and girls, who ought to be protected, educated and prepared to assume, in the not distant future, their positions as the supporters and the rulers of the state. I saw at that time about me various temperance organizations; some of them devoting their efforts to reclaiming drunkards, with what degree of success you all know about; others were expending their time and their money in efforts to secure new and more stringent laws relating to this traffic, but I found nobody making any effort to bring about the enforcement of the laws already upon the statute book. I found that it was the habit of our legislature to enact laws and shut them up in a book, and there they remained dead, failing to accomplish in any degree the purpose which actuated the legislature in their enactment. I found that through political combinations, the officers, whose duty it was to enforce these laws, were neglecting their duty—in fact, doing nothing to give life and effect to the legislation on this subject. I saw in this a graver question than even the temperance question, for lawlessness begets lawlessness. If the men engaged in the liquor traffic can combine and defy the law-makers and the executive officers of the government successfully, the subversion of free government is threatened, because if one class of men are not bound by the law, all may declare themselves absolved from obedience, and corruption, disintegration and final dissolution and death would be the fate of the Commonwealth. As I considered this subject, I was looking for some practical action that could

be taken on the spot without waiting, and then I learned of the efforts that had been made with such wonderful results by the Citizen's League of Chicago, and by the Society for the Prevention of Crime in New-York City. As I looked around me, I recognized the fact that other people beside radical temperance men and prohibitionists had an interest, and were likely to feel and show it, in compelling obedience to that provision of our law which forbids the sale of intoxicating liquor to minors and to the other provision which forbids its sale on the Lord's Day. I found very many of our leading citizens, who are good church members, who stand high in our social, business, and political circles, who had not accepted the extreme view of the question and yet whose lives were an earnest that they were opposed to lawlessness, to the corruption of the children, and to the desecration of the Sabbath. It seemed to me then, and more than four years' experience has only strengthened the belief I then held, that we needed better machinery and MORE EARNEST PURPOSES both on the part of officers and people to secure the benefits to be derived from thorough administration of existing laws, more than we needed new legislation upon this subject. Indeed, it seemed to me that the preliminary step to any advanced movement upon this question was to secure absolute obedience to the very strict restrictive law standing upon our statute books. In our state, we have a law, not acceptable to all those temperance men who have realized all the enormities of the traffic and who would be glad, if it were in their power, to obliterate it entirely, and yet a very good law—a law which if thoroughly enforced would stamp out three-quarters of all the places where intoxicating beverages are sold. This law provides that no city or town shall grant licenses to sell intoxicating liquor, unless the people at the annual election have voted 'yes' upon the question "shall licenses be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquor in this city (or town)?" And as a matter of fact more than 240 of our 347 towns voted 'no' upon this question at the last election, and by virtue of that vote, are under as strict a prohibitory law as stands upon the statute book of any state in our Union; and in the license cities or towns that vote 'yes' upon the question, there are many restrictions placed upon the traffic and conditions of the licenses. So stringent are these conditions that if complied with in letter and in spirit, but few places could do business enough to live. Our law does not contemplate nor authorize the opening of a saloon, bar room, or tippling shop. It does not authorize anywhere an independent liquor business. It does authorize the licensing boards in the towns and cities that vote 'yes' to license bona fide innkeepers and victuallers to sell intoxicating liquor with food to their bona fide guests. In the language of our great Governor Andrew, who presided over our Commonwealth during the time of our civil war "we do not authorize perpendicular drinking." But through a mal-administration of the law when the Law and Order League came into existence four years ago last spring, it found fifteen hundred places in the city of Boston, licensed as common victuallers, and the chairman of the board which granted the license, said, that not more than two hundred and fifty of them at the outside, were bona fide victuallers, and instead of refusing to license them as was his duty he asked the Legislature to authorize his board to license persons who were not common victuallers to sell liquor to be drank on their premises. One provision of our law forbids the sale to persons who are intoxicated or are known to have been intoxicated within six months preceeding. Another forbids the sale to minors for their own or another's use, another forbids Sunday selling; and there are many other restrictions placed upon the traffic, all of which were disregarded by nearly every man in the business at the time the Law and Order League was founded.

A company of gentlemen, among them many of the most prominent clergymen, bankers, business men and capitalists in our city met one evening in May, 1882, to consider

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the manner in which the liquor law was enforced in the city of Boston. It was a non-partisan meeting, for all our political parties were represented. It was non-sectarian, because there were Roman Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists present. In this meeting there were Prohibitionists, there were license men, there were total abstiners, and there were others who did not always turn their glasses. We discussed the situation, not with a view to bring about a concurrence of opinion among all present, but to ascertain if there was a common ground upon which all present and all decent men in the state might come together and do something, and do it at once, to restrain and diminish the evils that come from the state of things which I have described, and after a discussion we decided to form the Citizens' Law and Order League of Massachusetts. We met to form an association for Boston but we found there were among those present, many who did not live in Boston, but who were property owners there, interested in the welfare of the city, and so we said, we will make it a state organization, with the expectation that if we can accomplish anything in Boston, the organization will spread and become a State organization in fact as well as in name. And to-day we have 89 branches of our League in Massachusetts. We agreed together that the liquor dealers ought not to be privileged to violate our laws and go unpunished. We adopted a constitution in which we stated the object of our association in these words: "It shall be the object of this League to secure by all proper means, the enforcement of the restrictive features of existing laws for the regulation of the liquor traffic." We agreed to this provision, and we agreed to disagree about other matters. A member of our association is privileged in his capacity as a citizen or as a member of other organizations to work for such amendment of the law as he may see fit, but as a member of the League he must work for the enforcement of the existing law. Some persons who do not believe in our present law, refuse to assist us in securing a better enforcement of it; they tell us that the law is wicked, and they will have no part in efforts to enforce it, and sometimes they say, that the enforcement of the existing law, removing the worst features of the business, would have a tendency to make the people willing to endure the traffic, and thereby put off the day of its absolute extinction. To these wise men (and you may have some of them here) I have only this to say, that no public officer, no association such as ours, no citizen can enforce theories of what the law ought to be, and that good citizenship requires that in a government like ours, which is a government of laws and not of men, that the laws shall be obeyed, whether good or bad, whether meeting with our approval or otherwise, so long as they remain unrepealed. Our great chieftain, General Ulysses S. Grant, who led our armies to victory in those dark days of our civil war, never said a truer thing than that which he uttered when he said "The best way to secure the repeal of a bad law is to rigidly enforce it."

Having formed our association, we looked about us to ascertain where we should begin our work. We decided that our first step should be to go to the authorities who were charged by law with its administration and enforcement. We went. We stated to these gentlemen that we were aware that there is an organization, a combination of lawless men, actuated by motives of greed, interested in defeating these laws and preventing their enforcement. We understand that the influence of this combination is constantly felt here; we know that the law-abiding people, the people who pay the taxes, the people who have no interest in this matter aside from the public interest, and no motive but a desire to see better order, better government, more quiet and happy homes, are not represented here nor felt here as the other interest is represented and felt. We have formed this association to OFFER YOU AN ORGANIZED SUPPORT and assistance in the enforcement of

these laws, to counterbalance the combination and organization that is on the other side. We have adopted the maxim of Edmund Burke, "when bad men conspire, good men must combine." We were met with the statement that it was impossible to secure the evidence of the violation of the law. This was said to us by a board of commissioners who had at their command a police force of 791 members. They said to us: "If you will bring us the evidence to convince us that anybody is violating the law, we shall be very glad to act promptly and energetically." We then inquired among ourselves how this evidence should be obtained. We well understood that the violations of the liquor law were made in the saloons and not in the streets; that if men were to be prosecuted for violating this law, the complainant must be prepared to prove his case beyond a reasonable doubt. We took the advice of our best criminal lawyers,—we decided to adopt the methods that have been employed in criminal prosecutions in all countries where criminal courts have existed time out of mind. We decided to employ detectives, men whose business it should be to enter the places of men who were suspected of violating the law, to observe and report the kind of business they were doing there. We decided at the outset, that we would not have our agents induce men to commit crime that we might punish them for it, nor would we prosecute any man for a sale made to an agent of ours. We only prosecute for sales made in the regular course of business, which would have been made all the same if our men had been a hundred miles away. Very naturally the men engaged in the liquor traffic do not like our methods, and this is the point of attack all the time. These men are abused by everybody engaged in the traffic, and by the lawyers who take their retainers. They have often been assaulted; they are constantly threatened. Attempts are constantly made to bribe them, and the newspapers, sympathizing with the law-breaking liquor dealers, are constantly abusing them in their columns, but notwithstanding these difficulties, after three years, with no more than five men at work in the city of Boston, and often only two or three, the Law and Order League prosecuted in the course of that time, more liquor dealers for violations of the law, than all the 791 policemen.

I used to go with these detectives in the early days of the organization before my face was known to the persons engaged in this traffic, to see with my own eyes. The first evening that I went out with them, I went into a basement saloon at half-past ten o'clock Saturday night and found there twenty-five little children, some of them less than thirteen years of age, and none of them more than fifteen. They were playing games of chance for the drink; they were all under the influence of liquor. Regardless of the law of Massachusetts, the man behind the bar was selling the boys any kind of liquor they asked for and had the money to pay for. Again and again I have seen such sales made to little boys. Hundreds of times have I seen liquor sold in these saloons to little children, who have tottered in with can and pitcher to buy drink to carry away, and these little customers are often so small that they have to reach above their heads to put the vessels they bring upon the bar. It is difficult for me to make you understand the excitement which spread throughout our city when these prosecutions by a society of citizens began. The men engaged in the liquor traffic seemed to be terrified. We kept up the fight so incessantly that every man in the business, knowing himself guilty, expected his turn would be the next. Signs began to go up in saloons all over the city, "no liquor sold to minors." "No minors allowed in this saloon." In hundreds of cases men whom I never saw, were mistaken for agents of the League. In many cases men have been severely assaulted who knew nothing about the Law and Order League, simply because suspected of being its agents. Attempts have been made repeatedly to induce the Legislature to take the teeth out of the law, to defeat the Law and Order League by abolishing those provisions of the

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law which it has been trying to enforce. In such cases we feel called upon to appear before the Legislature to resist attempts to repeal the law, and to insist that the fact of the law being upon the statute book is *prima facie* evidence that it is properly there; that it represents the will of a majority of the people, and that he who would remove it therefrom must show good cause. And it is a satisfaction to me that during these four years of terrific fighting of the liquor traffic, not a single provision of our law has been weakened by the Legislature. That on the other hand, more stringent provisions have been adopted notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the men engaged in the liquor traffic and their allies. Soon after we began our work in Boston, there were inquiries made from the surrounding towns. We soon adopted the plan of organizing branch leagues, and we now have 89 such branch leagues doing their work in as many towns and cities in the state. The history of each of these branch organizations would furnish an interesting theme upon an occasion like this. I like always to speak of the operations of the Somerville League. Somerville has a population of 32,000, adjoining Boston on one side, and Cambridge a license city on the other. This city was provoked to vote 'no' at the election in the fall of 1881. Some of the instances which caused Somerville to vote 'no' are very terrible. One of them, a boy seventeen years of age, made angry by something that transpired in his home one evening, rushed out into the street, and in a fit of desperation into a bar room, and called for whiskey. Notwithstanding the fact that he was unquestionably a minor, the decanter and glass were given to him. He poured his glass full to the brim and drank it down, paying his ten cents and called again for whiskey; again the glass and decanter were handed to him, notwithstanding the fact that he had just taken an unusually large drink. Again he filled his glass and drank, paying another ten cents. And a third time did he call, and a third time was the glass and decanter passed to him. He drank again and paid for the liquor, and staggering into the street was arrested and placed in a cell in the police station, and in the morning, he was found dead there. Another boy thirteen years of age, was found dead drunk in a snow-bank in one of the streets of Somerville, at three o'clock in the morning, frozen to death. These instances and others like them, caused Somerville to vote no license. The first year, they relied upon their public officers to enforce the law and it was not enforced. The saloons triumphed and continued their business. At the end of the year the citizens of Somerville came together and formed a Law and Order League, and took hold of the matter, and they again voted "no." The Law and Order League with its five hundred members embracing the best known and most reliable men among its citizens began its work, and the saloons began to close their doors. The League carried on that fight, and now for three years, there has been no public place in Somerville where intoxicating liquors are sold. There is some surreptitious selling, but those who carry it on are punished as they are detected. And Somerville has gone on voting 'no,' increasing its majority at each election. At the last election there was a majority of more than 1200 against license in a total vote of about 2000. It has often been stated, and I believe it is true, that the law against selling intoxicating liquor is as well enforced in Somerville as the law against stealing, and it has been done for the past year by the police force. The Law and Order League has for the time being gone out of business. It has accomplished its purpose, which is proved by the police in the performance of its duty, and Somerville has become an ideal place for residences. Property has advanced, taxes have diminished. The saloon-keepers and the worst class of their patrons have emigrated from the town. Good citizens have been coming in, and the population has thus been changing for the better, and increasing largely. Somerville is in no danger of abandoning its policy in this regard. Prohibition prohibits in Somerville

and will continue to prohibit. The atmosphere of that city is not healthy for liquor dealers.

The branch League of Framingham has carried on a successful warfare upon the liquor dealers of that town. The seven gentlemen who compose the executive committee of that League are all business men. Men of means. Four of them are deacons in Evangelical churches. They determined to do the work very largely themselves. They employed detectives but very little; they took means to know when intoxicating liquor was brought into the town, armed themselves with seizure warrants and searched the places, and when the liquors were found, confiscated them, became complainants in the courts and witnesses. They had in that town one very defiant man, who said at the beginning of the first year of the League's work "I have a hundred thousand dollars, and I will spend every cent of it, but I will sell liquor 365 days in Framingham this year." I don't know how much of the hundred thousand dollars he expended, but I do know that for himself and his bartenders he paid more than \$1200, in fines and costs; with the attorney's fees added, the sum was more than \$2500., and he himself lay in the house of correction for three months during the year. A miserable rascal sent out from that saloon one evening went to the home of the president of the Law and Order League and set his barn on fire, and it was burned to the ground. The members of the executive committee of that League came together, they took the value of the barn, the amount of the insurance, they ascertained the net loss, they divided it into seven parts, and each of the six others gave the president of the League his check for a seventh part of this loss, and two days afterward, the president of the League and some of the members appeared with a search warrant in the same saloon, from which the incendiary had been sent.

This brings me to this point, there are many persons who profess an unwillingness to enter into this kind of work on account of the danger that they may suffer in person or in property. In our four years of work, this is the only case that I have known where property has been injured. No man has been killed. It is true that a number of our agents have been assaulted, some of them very severely. Three men are now in houses of correction, where they have been sent to serve their terms for assaulting our agents, but after all there is hardly danger enough in the work to make it interesting. Those of us who participated in the armed conflict of twenty-five years ago, find nothing in the braggadocio and threats of these law-breaking rum sellers to drive us away, or make us hesitate for a single moment about going straight forward in the line of duty. If the danger was a hundred times greater, we would still march straight forward for the good that might be done. There are worse things that can happen to a man than to meet death in the line of duty, and we cannot calmly sit down and fold our hands, and allow the horde of law-breaking rumsellers to go on in their nefarious practices of corrupting children, desecrating the Sabbath, burdening the people with taxation, filling our insane asylums, filling our alms houses, our houses of correction, our prisons, and making heavy the burden of both private and public charity, and if there be danger, it should be courageously met. It will never be less than it is now. If it is the desire of men engaged in the liquor traffic to adjourn the debate upon this question to the line of physical combat, for one I say, we cannot begin too soon, and if they do adjourn this question to that arena, they will find there are blows to receive as well as to give and that the honest men of the country who are engaged in honest avocations, are as brave and as strong and far more numerous than they. It will be a conflict of short duration, and the side of law and order will be the stronger side, and although some may fall, the triumph in the end will be with the right. It is an old saying that "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad," and if the law-breaking dealers in alcoholic liquors shall become mad enough to undertake to control this people by physical violence, their destruction will be certain and it will be speedy. But I must hasten

on. I am so full when to stop. B our work in the C were patronizing difficult matter to respect is so mar tions of the city were open, doing closed. The S work, more than many as they we members of our of the city with of the amount t Order League. capital that has active work on carried forward of appointment istration of the State. We no formance of du there are 633 have received them to carry and despair p of things, an been dispelle may be done of Massachu to apply to c formed a ne the legislatu and for the selling to m has disposed trial. We have given the legislat hands of t is an agita ple are ar League in Somervill there will I hav of the U upon the cause th

on. I am so full of this subject, that once I have begun talking about it, I never know when to stop. But I must not close until I have given you a brief account of the results of our work in the City of Boston. First of all, we believe that not less than 15,000 children were patronizing the saloons in the city of Boston when we began our work. It is now a difficult matter to find one of these little children entering a saloon. The contrast in this respect is so marked as to be noticed by everybody who has occasion to go over the sections of the city where these saloons exist. Most of the saloons when our work began were open, doing business on the Lord's Day. Hundreds that were then open are now closed. The Sunday arrests for drunkenness were reduced, during the first year of our work, more than one third; during the past year they have been only about one-half as many as they were during the year before the Law and Order League was formed. The members of our association have conducted an agitation for an increase in the license fees of the city with success, and as a result \$666,904 has been paid into the treasury in excess of the amount that it would have received from this source, if there had been no Law and Order League. So that our work has returned a good dividend upon the small amount of capital that has been required to conduct it. We found ourselves unable to secure any active work on the part of our police force in the enforcement of this law. We began and carried forward an agitation which culminated in an act of the legislature taking the power of appointment of the board controlling our police force, and having charge of the administration of the liquor law, from the municipality and investing it in the governor of the State. We now have a police force with an impulse behind it, which means a faithful performance of duty in respect to this law as well as to others. In consequence of this change, there are 633 less places licensed in Boston this year than there were last, and those who have received licenses are held to a more strict compliance with the law which permits them to carry on this business. When our work began there was a feeling of hopelessness and despair pervading the minds of our people. Everybody deplored the terrible state of things, and almost everybody said, it is impossible to do anything. This feeling has been dispelled. Our people now understand that something has been done and that more may be done. It is a cause that is growing in influence and power, and the liquor dealers of Massachusetts will understand that the law can be made to apply to them as it is made to apply to other persons. As a desperate, and I hope a last resort, they have recently formed a new combination with a declared purpose to manipulate politics so as to control the legislature for the purpose of repealing the law establishing the new board of police, and for the purpose of taking out of the law the local option feature, the provision against selling to minors, on Sunday, etc. We have one prosecuting officer in the State, who has disposed of more than 95 per cent. of the liquor cases brought before him without a trial. We have attacked him in the press, and before a committee of the legislature. We have given the public facts about his failure to perform his duty. We have called upon the legislature to provide some means for more efficient enforcement of the law at the hands of the prosecuting officer of the particular county in which Boston is located. This is an agitation not yet completed, but such reforms as these go not backward. The people are aroused, the victory will come, and I trust that the day is approaching when the League in Boston will find itself out of business, from the same cause which renders the Somerville League inactive—that the day will come when in Boston, as in Somerville, there will be no saloons to fight, no occasion for a Law and Order League.

I have been introduced to you as the secretary of the Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States. I have said nothing of that organization. I have dwelt entirely upon the work of one of its parts. I have told you about the work in Massachusetts because that work is of the peculiar kind which doubtless you need in this vicinity. The

conditions under which you act here are different from ours. I do not understand them. I do not know to what extent you could succeed upon the lines which we have been following in Massachusetts. but I do know that an organization of citizens solely for the purpose of upholding the law, with a determination to succeed, taking the same business-like view of the situation that you would take if an incendiary were abroad in your streets, will accomplish for you such results as we have been accomplishing in Massachusetts. A determination on the part of the law-abiding people to compel the law-breakers to obedience will bear fruits in Canada as it has borne fruit in Massachusetts, and if these men have been demoralizing your communities and assaulting your people, there should be no quarter and no mercy shown them. The citizens should be up in arms, and they should look upon these men as Ishmaelites, and every man's hand should be against them, and it should fall upon them immediately and heavily, and there should be no rest for the soles of their feet.

The Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States held its Fourth annual meeting on the 22nd of February last in Cincinnati. There are in the United States about seven hundred Law and Order Leagues, with an aggregate membership of about one hundred thousand. These associations have been taking practical measures to suppress the evils which seem to be the worst in the communities in which they exist. The success accomplished in Chicago is simply marvellous. The League there carried on an agitation for an increase of the license fees, which resulted in putting into the city treasury annually a million and a half of dollars in excess of that received before, and this also with about eight hundred less saloons than it formerly had, and it has practically suppressed the sale of liquor to minors. The League in Cincinnati waged war against the Sunday concert saloons entrenched behind the great theatres which were all opened on the Lord's Day, and the intrepid little band of men who compose the Law and Order League in Cincinnati attacked these great theatres which are sustained by the leading newspapers because of the advertising patronage which they receive, but the League was not dismayed. It fought these people, it won the victory, and it closed the theatres of Cincinnati on Sundays.

The League in Louisville, Ky. attacked the gamblers, and it had a bitter war with them, but it succeeded. It drove the gamblers out of Louisville; it influenced the legislature of Kentucky, and today gambling is a felony in that state.

The National League is a bond of union, and a means of communication between these various Law and Order Leagues operating at points far distant from each other over the vast extent of territory that is embraced within the United States. Our next annual meeting will be held at Albany New York on the 22nd of February next, and I hope at that time, it will have become an international as well as a national organization, and I hope that delegates from this region will be present to report operations upon Canadian soil. You will listen this evening to an eloquent address from the president of our National League.

In closing, let me urge you to form Law and Order Leagues in every community where the liquor law is not enforced. Go about your work just as you would if the community were overrun with counterfeiters, by horse thieves, or by incendiaries. Any method that is a proper method to use in detecting and punishing the counterfeiter, the horse thief and the incendiary is a proper method to use in bringing to condign punishment the men who are selling intoxicating liquor in violation of the law. Having formed your associations

"Keep pushing, 'tis wiser than sitting aside,
And sighing, and wishing, and waiting the tide
In life's earnest battle they only prevail
Who daily press onward and never say fail."

